

# SOCIAL CHANGE AND PARTISAN IDENTIFICATION IN POST AUTHORITARIAN CHILE

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## Abstract

Since the return of democracy in 1990, party identification has been declining steadily among the Chilean public. Very few studies have attempted to understand this process in a longitudinal perspective. We address this gap by studying the evolution of mass level partisanship through an age-period-cohort analysis applied to repeated cross sectional data from 1994 to 2014. Results from Bayesian random intercept models indicate the presence of significant and negative effects associated to all three elements of social change. First, strong period effects have shrunked the overall level of partisan identification, though with some noticeable setbacks during election years. Second, pronounced aging effects have reduced individuals' propensity to identify with a party as they become older. Lastly, we find significant cohort effects whereby each successive generation is less partisan. Consequently, the effects of all three sources of change have consistently pointed in the direction of extinguishing mass partisanship from Chilean society.

## 1 Introduction

During the last decades several Latin American countries experienced dramatic dealignment processes whereby significant portions of the population ceased to support or affiliate with any of the existing political parties (Lupu, 2014a; Morgan, 2007). Within the region, Chilean society stands out as one in which these processes adopted its sharpest form. Indeed, according to national surveys, while in 1994 more than 73% of the Chilean adult population mentioned to identify or sympathize with a political party, in 2014 this figure dropped to 32%.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the proportion of the public that mentioned to identify or sympathize with one of the political coalitions decreased more than 30 percentage points from 71% 1994 to 40% in 2013. While there certainly are some years where the aggregate levels of identification recover, particularly during election years, the indisputable trend is one of decline. As a result of this brake down of mass partisanship, Chile

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<sup>1</sup>Data are provided by the survey of the Centro de Estudios Públicos. In section 3.1 we provide technical details of this data source.

# President And Congress In Post Authoritarian Chile

**Guy Burton, Ted Goertzel**



## **President And Congress In Post Authoritarian Chile:**

Political Representation in Southern Europe and Latin America André Freire, Mélany Barragán, Xavier Coller, Marco Lisi, Emmanouil Tsatsanis, 2020-06-03 This collective volume with contributions from experts on these regions examines broader questions about the current crises The Great Recession and The Commodity Crisis and the associated changes in political representation in both regions It provides a general overview of political representation studies in Southern Europe and Latin America and builds bridges between the two traditions of political representation studies affording greater understanding of developments in each region and promote future research collaboration between Southern Europe and Latin America Finally the book addresses questions of continuity and change in patterns of political representation after the onset of the two economic crises specifically examining issues such as changes in citizens democratic support and trust in political representatives and institutions in descriptive representation in the sociodemographic profile of MPs and in substantive representation in the link between voters and MPs in terms of ideological congruence and or policy issue orientations This book will be of key interest to scholars and students of political elites political representation European and Latin American politics studies and more broadly to comparative politics **Protest, Social Movements, and Global**

**Democracy since 2011** Thomas Davies, Holly Eva Ryan, Alejandro Milcíades Peña, 2016-06-14 This volume engages with new theoretical and methodological perspectives and illuminates novel aspects of transnational social movement dynamics such as the evolving role of information technology deterritorialisation and government counter responses **Capital City**

**Politics in Latin America** David J. Myers, Henry A. Dietz, 2002 As Latin America's new democratic regimes have decentralized the region's capital cities and their elected mayors have gained increasing importance Capital City Politics in Latin America tells the story of these cities how they are changing operationally how the empowerment of mayors and other municipal institutions is exacerbating political tensions between local executives and regional and national entities and how the cities growing significance affects traditional political patterns throughout society The authors weave a tapestry that illustrates the impact of local national and transnational power relations on the strategies available to Latin America's capital city mayors as they seek to transform their greater influence into desired actions **After the Washington Consensus**

Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski, John Williamson, 2003-03-26 This volume is a successor of sorts to the Institute's 1986 volume Toward Renewed Economic Growth in Latin America which blazed the trail for the market oriented economic reforms that were adopted in Latin America in the subsequent years It again presents the work of a group of leading Latin American economists who were asked to think about the nature of the economic policy agenda that the region should be pursuing after a decade that was punctuated by crises achieved disappointingly slow growth and saw no improvement in the region's highly skewed income distribution The study diagnoses the first generation liberalizing and stabilizing reforms that are still lacking the complementary second generation institutional reforms that are necessary to provide the institutional infrastructure of a

market economy with an egalitarian bias and the new initiatives that are needed to crisis proof the economies of the region to end its perpetual series of crises Contributors Daniel Artana Nancy Birdsall Roberto Bouzas Sa l Keifman Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Ricardo Lopez Murphy Claudio de Moura Castro Fernando Navajas Patricio Navia Liliana Rojas Suarez Jaime Saavedra Miguel Sz kely Andr s Velasco John Williamson and Laurence Wolff **The Politics of Electoral Systems** Michael Gallagher, Paul Mitchell, 2005-09-15 Electoral systems matter They are a crucial link in the chain connecting the preferences of citizens to the policy choices made by governments They are chosen by political actors and once in existence have political consequences for those actors They are an important object of study for anyone interested in the political process and in this book we subject them to systematic analysis In addition to some comparative chapters the book contains full accounts of the operation of electoral systems in 22 countries France the UK Germany Italy Israel Spain Austria Belgium Denmark Finland The Netherlands Ireland Hungary Russia Australia Canada India the USA Japan New Zealand Chile and South Africa The book provides detailed analyses of the operation of a diverse set of electoral systems in their national context Each chapter explains how the electoral system really works in the given country examining the strategic incentives the system provides to voters candidates and parties All country chapters have a common format and structure Successive sections analyse the institutional context how each electoral system was chosen historically how the current electoral system operates the rules mechanics and ballot structure and the political consequences of the current system the impact on the party system the internal life of parties and the impact on parliament and government formation Each country chapter then contains a final section which focuses on the politicization of electoral institutions In recent years many countries have changed their electoral systems either entirely or in part so there is a strong focus on the processes of electoral reform both historically and prospectively The book concentrates on the real world politics as well as the political science of electoral systems The book will be of interest to those concerned with the practical political business of electoral reform The book contains a wealth of evidence about the performance of various kinds of proportional representation and of non PR systems This will be invaluable for anyone interested in the question What would be the best electoral system for my country

**Democratic Latin America** Craig L. Arceneaux, 2020-10-26 The third edition of Democratic Latin America retains its classic institutional approach to understand contemporary Latin American politics Each chapter focuses on a different institution and compares how they are constructed differently across countries Placing a premium on accessibility the chapters open with a story and end with a detailed country case study making use of contemporary examples to feed student interest in current events with comparison based tables and box features interspersed throughout to stimulate analysis Every chapter finishes with a set of questions and recommended readings This approach allows for a very practical approach to politics that encourages critical analysis Updates to this new edition include updated comparison based tables and box features to stimulate analysis new Country in the Spotlight to include developments unique to each country and discussions

on political change in Cuba indigenous peoples and political power neopopulism impeachment procedures transitional justice the 2019 protests the new militarism the mobilization of women against violence LGBT rights the evangelical movement and the Colombian peace process A clear eyed look at political institutions to provide a roadmap to the political activity in a country Democratic Latin America continues to offer an original way of teaching and learning about Latin American politics

**The Selection of Ministers around the World** Keith Dowding, Patrick Dumont, 2014-08-13 Governing cabinets are composed of ministers who come and go even as governments march on They work for the chief executive the prime minister or the president for their parties and for the constituent groups from which they come They are chosen for their role and dismissed from it for all sorts of reasons that vary across time and country This book examines the process of selection shuffling and removal of ministers in national cabinets around the world Drawing on original data over several decades it offers a series of case studies of countries from around the world with differing institutional and cultural structures including presidential and semi presidential systems and parliamentary unitary and federal systems some of which have experienced periods under authoritarian regimes Featuring 14 case studies on North and South America Asia Africa Australia and New Zealand this book complements the earlier volume *The Selection of Ministers in Europe* Routledge 2009 This volume will be an important reference for students and scholars of political science government executives comparative politics and political parties

**Leftovers** Jorge G. Castañeda, Marco A. Morales, 2009-09-10 Written by specialists on the region this book provides a comprehensive account of the left across Latin America

**Rent-Seeking in Private Pensions** Mark Hyde, Silvia Borzutzky, 2016-08-31 This book argues that the implementation of compulsory highly regulated privately administered defined contribution pensions facilitates rent seeking behaviour on the part of the pension fund administrators and undermines the retirees income and well being While the book focuses primarily on Chile its analysis and conclusions are applicable to several Latin American and Eastern European countries where privately administered pension systems have been implemented Chapters evaluate the scholarly literature and empirical evidence around three aspects of the pension fund industry structure pricing and performance The authors conclude that state regulation has facilitated the accumulation of capital in the hands of the pension fund administrators They also demonstrate that these systems owe more to the values and principles of conservative philosophy than to neoliberalism in providing alternative solutions to the rent seeking approach to retirement

Legislative Politics in Latin America Scott Morgenstern, Benito Nacif, 2002-03-04 This theoretically inspired study explores legislative politics in Argentina Brazil Chile and Mexico Instead of beginning with an assumption that these legislatures are either rubber stamps or obstructionist bodies the chapters provide new data and a fresh analytical approach to describe and explain the role of these representative bodies in these consolidating democracies For each country the book provides three chapters dedicated in turn to executive legislative relations the legislatures organizational structure and the policy process

**Latin American Democracy** Richard L. Millett, Richard L. Millet, Jennifer

S. Holmes, Orlando J. Pérez, 2010-04-26 Nearly thirty years have passed since Latin America began the arduous task of transitioning from military led rule to democracy In this time more countries have moved toward the institutional bases of democracy than at any time in the region's history Nearly all countries have held free competitive elections and most have had peaceful alternations in power between opposing political forces Despite these advances however Latin American countries continue to face serious domestic and international challenges to the consolidation of stable democratic governance The challenges range from weak political institutions corruption legacies of militarism transnational crime and globalization among others In *Latin American Democracy* contributors both academics and practitioners North Americans and Latin Americans explore and assess the state of democratic consolidation in Latin America by focusing on the specific issues and challenges confronting democratic governance in the region      *Democratization by Institutions* Leslie E. Anderson, 2016-08-25 In this pioneering study of democratization in Argentina Leslie Anderson challenges Robert Putnam's thesis that democracy requires high levels of social capital She demonstrates in *Democratization by Institutions* that formal institutions e.g. the executive the legislature the courts can serve not only as operational parts within democracy but as the driving force toward democracy As Anderson astutely observes the American founders debated the merits of the institutions they were creating Examining how and how well Argentina's American style institutional structure functions she considers the advantages and risks of the separation of powers checks and balances legislative policymaking and strong presidential power During the democratic transition the Argentinian state has used institutions to address immediate policy challenges in ways responsive to citizens and thereby to provide a supportive environment in which social capital can develop By highlighting the role that institutions can play in leading a nation out of authoritarianism even when social capital is low Anderson begins a new conversation about the possibilities of democratization *Democratization by Institutions* has much to say not only to Latin Americanists and scholars of democratization but also to those interested in the U.S. constitutional structure and its application in other parts of the world      *Care Work and Class* Merike Blofield, 2015-06-29 Despite constitutions that enshrine equality until recently every state in Latin America permitted longer working hours in some cases more than double the hours and lower benefits for domestic workers than other workers This has in effect subsidized a cheap labor force for middle and upper class families and enabled well to do women to enter professional labor markets without having to negotiate household and care work with their male partners While elite resistance to reform has been widespread during the past fifteen years a handful of countries have instituted equal rights In *Care Work and Class* Merike Blofield examines how domestic workers mobilization strategic alliances and political windows of opportunity mostly linked to left wing executive and legislative allies can lead to improved rights even in a region as unequal as Latin America Blofield also examines the conditions that lead to better enforcement of rights      **The Rule of Law in Nascent Democracies** Rebecca Bill Chavez, 2004 This book explains how the rule of law emerges and how it survives in nascent democracies The question of

how nascent democracies construct and fortify the rule of law is fundamentally about power. By focusing on judicial autonomy a key component of the rule of law this book demonstrates that the fragmentation of political power is a necessary condition for the rule of law. In particular it shows how party competition sets the stage for independent courts. Using case studies of Argentina at the national level and of two neighboring Argentine provinces San Luis and Mendoza this book also addresses patterns of power in the economic and societal realms. The distribution of economic resources among members of a divided elite fosters competitive politics and is therefore one path to the requisite political fragmentation. Where institutional power and economic power converge a reform coalition of civil society actors can overcome monopolies in the political realm.

*Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament* Shirin M. Rai, 2013-10-18 *Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament* breaks new ground in the study of legislatures. It combines mainstream historical and social science approaches with cultural theory to consider how parliamentary ritual is constructed through ceremony, space and socialisation. The focus is on the marginalised groups especially women and members of ethnic minorities who seek inclusion as representatives in democratic legislatures. This book assesses aspects of the role that ceremony and ritual in legislatures play especially but not exclusively in their gendered and racialised dimensions. Within this broad frame it considers the impact of space, identity, ritual and/or ceremony on the institutional form of parliament, how power is shaped within it, how the behaviour of members is facilitated, constrained and shaped, how power and rituals interact to and how they impinge upon the relationships between representative institutions and citizens. Contributions are theoretical and empirical, comparative or single country studies of national or sub-national legislatures. They have interdisciplinary historical or postcolonial perspectives that contribute to this emerging field in the study of parliaments. This book was previously published as a special issue of the *Journal of Legislative Studies*. Beyond

Neoliberalism in Latin America? J. Burdick, P. Oxhorn, K. Roberts, 2009-01-05 While the neoliberal model continues to dominate economic and political life in Latin America, people throughout the region have begun to strategize about how to move beyond this model. Twelve cutting edge papers investigate how Latin Americans are struggling to articulate a future in which neoliberalism is reconfigured. **Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America** Jorge I.

Domínguez, Michael Shifter, 2013-07-31 After more than a century of assorted dictatorships and innumerable fiscal crises the majority of Latin America's states are governed today by constitutional democratic regimes. Some analysts and scholars argue that Latin America weathered the 2008 fiscal crisis much better than the United States. How did this happen? Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter asked area specialists to examine the electoral and governance factors that shed light on this transformation and the region's prospects. They gather their findings in the fourth edition of *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. This new edition is completely updated. Part I is thematic, covering issues of media, constitutionalism, the commodities boom and fiscal management vis-à-vis governance. Part II focuses on eight important countries in the region: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela. Already widely used in courses

Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America will continue to interest students of Latin American politics democratization studies and comparative politics as well as policymakers     Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy Jose Antonio Cheibub, 2007 This book questions the reasons why presidential democracies more likely to break down than parliamentary ones     **Presidential Leadership in the Americas since Independence** Guy Burton, Ted Goertzel, 2016-10-05 What is presidential leadership and why have some presidents been considered great or rather transformational while others are not What are the drivers which distinguish these presidents from the rest Presidential Leadership in the Americas since Independence answers these questions through a systematic study of leadership across the Americas over 200 years from independence to the present day Having surveyed who the most cited presidents are in the Americas Guy Burton and Ted Goertzel examine the experience of presidents from across the western hemisphere the US Argentina Brazil Chile Colombia Mexico Peru and Venezuela They study the relationship between these men and women s actions within the constraints they faced during four political periods independence national consolidation during the nineteenth century state building from the late nineteenth to mid twentieth centuries and neoliberalism since the 1970s 80s The most transformational presidents are found to be those who are not only able to innovate and build new political consensus at a time of crisis but also consolidate them so that the reforms becoming lasting and extending beyond an individual president s own political even biological lifetime     **Brazil under Lula** J. Love, W. Baer, 2009-01-05 This book offers the first multidisciplinary analysis of the impact of the government of President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva and his Workers Party on Brazilian economy and society as he begins his second four year term



The Enigmatic Realm of **President And Congress In Post Authoritarian Chile**: Unleashing the Language is Inner Magic

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